the resettlement villages as needed, but soon replaced by issues of the sweet potatoes and later, village-grown crops. Distributions tapered off after May, 1951, and ceased at the end of that year.

Commercial Enterprises: Agricultural activities are the only kind of enterprise which are encouraged or assisted by government. These activities are mostly conducted by individual entrepreneurs. No rewards are ever given for land clearing, nor are any labour costs ever paid. The government assists by providing coffee, rubber and cocoa seeds to growers. Initially these were free; nowadays, growers are charged the cost of seed.

Although there is provision in the Territory for credit assistance for economic development, small growers of cash crops such as are found in Sivepa and Inonda are not eligible for this credit. A short time before I left, one man from Inonda (again the government driver) was encouraged to apply for a loan under a new experimental scheme for beef cattle farming, but the arrangements were not complete when I left.

The government provides marketing assistance to New Guinea growers of coffee (mainly indigenous) by a remission of duty on raw coffee imported into Australia from sources other than Papua and New Guinea to each importer who obtains a certain percentage of his total requirements from the Territory. The government does not itself purchase coffee but when the Higaturu Local Government Council was formed one of its initial functions was to operate a cooperative for the purchase, processing and exporting of locally grown coffee. Later (in 1962), the Council withdrew from this activity and an independent Orokaiva Coffee Growers Society was formed. The reason for the Council's withdrawal was advice from the government which felt uneasy about local bodies engaging in commerical activities. The effect of the setting up of the cooperative has been that service is now no longer given to all growers but to all who have bought shares as an entrance fee and become members of the cooperative. This fee was initially $4 but is constantly rising until in 1966 it reached $20. Some non-members sold their coffee to the Chinese for a lower price; others sold through kinsmen who were members, and did not always receive the full proceeds. The government keeps an eye on the operations of the cooperative; in any case, it seemed well enough conducted. Until end 1966, the cooperative depended on the government for transport: the buyer who visited villages each month to collect and pay for the coffee travelled on a government truck. It is now buying trucks of its own. The nearest pick-up point for Sivepa coffee was Caroubi, one mile away; the nearest pick-up point for Inonda coffee was likewise one mile away, at Ajoro.

The government also assists agriculture through its research activities conducted in various experimental stations in the Territory which specialise in rubber, coffee and other relevant crops. A resources survey has been made of large parts of the Northern District, including the Oro-Bay--Kumusi River region with which we are concerned here. A programme for the improvement of Robusta coffee is on the way,

653 a council responsibility. While the rebuilding of the arterial road
[991] from Popondetta and Kokoda was an expensive (and seemingly interminable)
responsibility of the government, the side roads became the council's
responsibility. Similarly, the government built the major hospitals
while the council looked after the village aid posts.

652 The council's revenue mainly came from taxes--a head tax of
[687] $8 for men and $1 for women. This is the only personal tax directly
levied among Orokaiva village people and has replaced the government
head tax. Its collection was not a government but a council respon-
sibility, although defaulters could, of course, be brought before a
magistrate and sentenced to a term in a government jail. Councillors
explained to the villagers that the taxes they paid went to pay for
their roads, aid posts, water supplies, etc. The government hoped
that villagers would be more ready to pay their taxes if they could
see tangible local benefits to justify them. One effect of the system
was that villagers became very interested to see that as much as
possible of the tax money should be spent in their own locality. They
rapidly developed a strong propensity for parish-pump politics. When
I visited Sasembata district first, there was little evidence of any
council projects in the Sasembata wards. People objected to paying
[661] their taxes: they were not getting anything for them. Pressure
resulted in roading improvements and plans for a comprehensive water
supply for the area. Councillors who did not fight successfully for
such causes were liable to miss re-election.

The head tax manifestly acted as a significant economic incentive.
[961] A man who grew no coffee and earned no money could not pay his tax.
Even if a man could not be bothered harvesting all his coffee, he
would certainly harvest enough to pay his tax. Some men who had no
coffee took plantation jobs a month or two before the tax was due. I
noticed this in two cases at Inonda; most of the Sivepe men had coffee
[687] gardens and did not need to work outside. For the first time, tax
defaulters in 1966 were actually jailed for two months. In one village,
Kendata, there were as many as 50 defaulters who fought the police
and ran into the bush; in Sivepe there were four, all without coffee
gardens.

177 In spite of this tension, people generally supported the ideology
623 of the council: they wanted the "new age" and they wanted the kind
of services that were supplied by the council. At the same time it
was never forgotten that behind the tax-gathering councillors stood
the government police, armed and ready to make arrests if the councillors
were resisted or attacked, as sometimes happened. Those who did not
pay and tried to escape arrests were judged by the conformists to be
ignorant men, unwisely looking for trouble. On the other hand, people
deeply sympathised with them. People wanted the "new age," but they
did not like the element of compulsion that went with it. They re-
elected the councillors who compelled them because they held the
Australian authorities, not the councillors, to be directly responsible.

875 spite of this vast differential, the mission continues to recruit
[465] certificated teachers who are qualified for government jobs. These men live on the mission stations with their families. The mysterious aspect of the salary question was the payment by the government of a
654 grant-in-aid to the mission in respect of all mission teachers who
797 hold A course certificates or better. The amount payable ranged from
895 $240 per annum to $1000 per annum according to qualifications and skin colour, but in all cases the government paid the mission in subsidy far more than the mission paid the teachers. The only explanation of the disparity I could get was that the Bishop had suggested and the teachers had agreed that all mission teachers work equally hard and well and should be paid the same. Thus, the money received from the government was supposedly shared among all teachers--certificated or not--and the government is apparently not concerned how the mission spends the grants-in-aid.

871 Mission schools are inspected by departmental officers and receive classroom materials on the same basis as Administration schools.
[877] Grants-in-aid are paid to missions for the maintenance of students at a boarding school. There is provision for Local Government Councils to provide school facilities over and above the government minimum standard, and receive government subsidy for these, but this provision was little used in the Northern District. Though a few of the school texts have been prepared by the mission, most materials have been supplied by the Department of Education. These materials tend to be class sets of graded school text books in the basic subjects, English, Mathematics and Social Studies. Little reading material is available
[207] over and above basic texts. Such curriculum enrichment as there is comes mostly from the educational broadcasts which are frequent and produced with great care. In view of the limited training of most teachers, the value of these radio lessons is considerable. In 1965, 38 broadcasts per week were available to school children.

652 In 1967, the government brought in an education tax which was
971 expected to be levied by school principals. The various missions of the Territory were disturbed about this demand, as it would turn them into collection agents for the government. Furthermore, the missions knew the fallacy of the argument on which the government relied for the defence of this tax. It was not true, as the government alleged, that Papuans passively accept education as a handout and feel no obligation to contribute to their children's school education. Orokaiva parents, and notably those of Sivepa, are constantly making substantial contributions. The head teacher at Ssembata told me that in 1966-67 he had received $300 in financial contributions as well as a great deal of labour assistance for the building of new classrooms, new teacher's residences, the hospital, etc. and the building materials necessary for these projects including sago thatch and blackpalm flooring--both of them scarce materials requiring a good deal of labour as well. These contributions if calculated in financial terms would come to a good deal more than the tax of $1 per child the head teacher was

expected to levy. He wrote his Bishop that he would not collect the tax. His letter seems to have been only one trickle in a river of non-cooperation and I never found out whether the government prevailed over the missions.

This controversy casts some light on Orokaiva attitudes to education. By standards of Orokaiva wealth, parents are making a major voluntary contribution in money, labour and materials, not with the idea of "paying for their children's eduction," but in order to make appropriate return gifts for the services rendered by the mission. The principle governing this transaction is reciprocity, but not contract. Thus, the Orokaiva contribution to their children's educatim differs from a tax in three crucial ways:

(a) It is specifically given to the mission, towards whom the people feel an obligation and not to the government, to which they do not feel beholden for their children's education. (This obstacle could be overcome only if the government succeeded in explaining the Department of Education budget in the villages.)

(b) It is regarded as voluntary, according to the principle of reciprocity. People contribute from goodwill and generosity, the only possible sanction for a non-contributor being a diminution of social status. (If an education tax is levied, the sanction is refusal to admit children to schools. This rule already applies in administration schools.)

(c) Contributions are made only partly in cash, but consist mainly of labour and materials which are not readily marketable in the villages. (If the payment is entirely in cash, this cash has to be earned outside the village or by cash-cropping. Resources such as sago and blackpalm cannot be used as a contribution to education.)

I have shown at various points in this report that Orokaiva value their children's school education highly. In Sasembata district, the men worked for the mission long before anyone was baptised and their motive was, as they told me, to see that their children could go to school. When I asked why they wished this, they answered that this was the only chance for the children to be able to obtain the same wealth as the Europeans and become equally powerful. It is consistent with this reasoning that the Orokaiva have never been very disturbed by what may seem to us the strange policy of conducting lessons in the English language. It has so far been enough for the Orokaiva to see that the only Papuans who have obtained wealth and power have been those who were educated in the school and who have gained some knowledge of English. It is only among the educated Orokaiva that one hears arguments for the Papuans and New Guineans being educated in a language of their own.

TABLE 12

REVISED ESTIMATES OF HIGATURU LOCAL GOVERNMENT COUNCIL FOR JULY 1966--JUNE 1967 (ABRIDGED)

Revenues		Expenditure	
Tax: 2000 males	$16,000	**A. Personal Emolument**	
1000 females	1,000	Council President	$ 156
Truck hire	13,000	Council Vice-President	108
Aid Post Orderlies Subsidy	1,250	Councillors	1,560
Water Supply Subsidy	3,320	Exec., Fin. Ctee	108
Aid Post Subsidy	240	Council Clerk	1,170
Adult Education Subsidy	780	Messenger	390
Miscellaneous	2,900	Landrover Driver	500
TOTAL	$38,490	Truck Drivers	1,450
		Agric. Fieldworker	234
		Market Manager	260
		Aid Post Orderlies	2,500
		Health Worker	256
		TOTAL	$ 8,692
		B. Revenue Expenditure	
		Council Administration	$ 1,000
		Transport	5,000
		Drugs	720
		Adult Education	780
		Other Items	1,685
		TOTAL	$ 9,186
		C. Capital Expenditure	
		Drivers' houses (2)	$ 2,200
		Council Staff House	800
		Council House Furniture	500
		Market Building	1,500
		Staff, House, Health Personnel	800
		Water Supplies (16 villages)	6,565
		Clinics (3 Villages)	900
		Roading (3 Projects)	6,070
		Other Items	2,099
		TOTAL	$21,434
		GRAND TOTAL	$39,212

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